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421 This is so, however, only in appearance. The hut is built by all
594 the different families, but each family is regarded as owning
342 a certain portion of the hut when it is finished, and it is the family that keeps this part of the hut in repair.

421 A canoe is cut by a number of men together. From the
501 outset, however, it is the property of one man, who selects
476 the tree and superintends the operation of cutting it into shape. He is always one of the older men, and he enlists the services of the younger men to help him. When finished the canoe is his property, and he can do with it what he pleases, giving it away, if he wishes, and no one has any share of ownership in a canoe on the ground that he helped to make it.

421 While all portable property is thus owned by individuals, the
431 Andamanese have customs which result in an approach to com-
574 munism. One of these is the custom of constantly exchanging presents with one another. When two friends meet who have not seen each other for some time, one of the first things they do is to exchange presents with one another. Even in the ordinary everyday life of the village there is a constant giving and receiving of presents. A younger man or woman may give some article to an older one without expecting or receiving any return, but between equals a person who gives a present always expects that he will receive something of equal value in exchange. At the meetings that take place between neighbouring local groups the exchange of presents is of great importance. Each of the visitors brings with him a number of articles that he distributes amongst the members of the group that he visits. When the visitors depart they are loaded with presents received from their hosts. It requires a good deal of tact on the part of everyone concerned to avoid the unpleasantness that may arise if a man thinks that he has not received things as valuable as he has given, or if he fancies that he has not received quite the same amount of attention as has been accorded to others.

431 It is considered a breach of good manners ever to refuse
●576 the request of another. Thus if a man be asked by another to give him anything that he may possess, he will immediately do so. If the two men are equals a return of about the same value will have to be made. As between an older married man

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and a bachelor or a young married man, however, the younger would not make any request of such a nature, and if the older man asked the younger for anything the latter would give it without always expecting a return.

Almost every object that the Andamanese possess is thus constantly changing hands. Even canoes may be given away, but it is more usual for these to be lent by the owner to his friends.

It has been stated above that all food is private property and belongs to the man or woman who has obtained it. Every one who has food is expected, however, to give to those who have none. An older married man will reserve for himself sufficient for his family, and will then give the rest to his friends. A younger man is expected to give away the best of what he gets to the older men. This is particularly the case with the bachelors. Should a young unmarried man kill a pig he must be content to see it distributed by one of the older men, all the best parts going to the seniors, while he and his companions must be satisfied with the inferior parts. The result of these customs is that practically all the food obtained is evenly distributed through the whole camp, the only inequality being that the younger men do not fare so well as their elders. Generosity is esteemed by the Andaman Islanders one of the highest of virtues and is unremittingly practised by the majority of them.

Within the local group there is no such thing as a division of labour save as between the two sexes. In the coastal groups every man is expected to be able to hunt pig, to harpoon turtle and to catch fish, and also to cut a canoe, to make bows and arrows and all the other objects that are made by men. It happens that some men are more skilful in certain pursuits than in others. A skilful turtle-hunter, for example, may be an indifferent pig-hunter, and such a man will naturally prefer to devote himself to the pursuit in which he appears to most advantage.

The division of labour between the sexes is fairly clearly marked. A man hunts and fishes, using the bow and arrow and the harpoon; he makes his own bows and arrows, his adze and knife, cuts canoes and makes rope for harpoon lines. A woman

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462 collects fruits and digs up roots with her digging stick; she catches prawns and crabs and small fish with her small fishing net; she provides the firewood and the water of the family and does the cooking (i.e. the family cooking, but not the common cooking, which is entirely done by men); she makes all such objects as baskets, nets of thread, and personal ornaments either for herself or her husband.

888 623 There is no organised government in an Andamanese village. The affairs of the community are regulated entirely by the older men and women. The younger members of the community are brought up to pay respect to their elders and to submit to them in many ways. It has already been shown how, in the distribution of food, the elders get the best share. When it is a question of shifting camp to some better hunting ground the opinion of the older men would weigh against that of the younger if they disagreed. It must not be thought, however, that the older men are tyrannical or selfish. I only once heard a young man complain of the older men getting so much the best of everything. The respect for seniority is kept alive partly by tradition and partly by the fact that the older men have had a greater experience than the younger. It could probably not be maintained if it regularly gave rise to any tyrannical treatment of the younger by the elder.

888 ●576 The respect for seniors is shown in the existence of special terms of address which men and women use when speaking to their elders. In the languages of the North Andaman there are two such terms, *Mai* or *Maia*, applied to men, with a meaning equivalent to "Sir," and *Mimi*, applied to women. These words may be used either alone or prefixed to the personal name of the person addressed. A younger man speaking to an older one whose name was *Bora* would address him either as *Mai* (Sir), or as *Maia Bora* (Sir Bora).

In the tribes of the South Andaman there are exactly similar terms. In the *Aka-Bea* tribe *Maia* or *Maiola* is used in addressing men and *Čana* or *Čanola* in speaking to women. In *Akar-Bale* the equivalent terms are *Da* and *In*. Besides these terms there is in these tribes another, *Mam*, *Mama* or *Mamola*, which may be used in speaking to either men or women, and which

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implies a higher degree of respect than *Maia* or *Čana*. In these tribes also there is a special way of showing respect by adding the suffix *-la* to the name of the person addressed, as *Bia, Biala, Woičo, Woičo-la*, etc.

In the legends of the Andamanese these titles are nearly always prefixed to the names of the legendary ancestors, as *Maia ,utpu* and *Mimi Biliku* in *Aka-Jeru*, or *Da Duku* and *In Bain* in *Akar-Bale*. The moon is similarly spoken of as Sir Moon (*Maia Ogar* in *Aka-Bea*) and the sun as Lady Sun (*Čana Bodo*).

Besides the respect for seniority there is another important factor in the regulation of the social life, namely the respect for certain personal qualities. These qualities are skill in hunting and in warfare, generosity and kindness, and freedom from bad temper. A man possessing them inevitably acquires a position of influence in the community. His opinion on any subject carries more weight than that of another even older man. The younger men attach themselves to him, are anxious to please him by giving him any presents that they can, or by helping him in such work as cutting a canoe, and to join him in hunting parties or turtle expeditions. In each local group there was usually to be found one man who thus by his influence could control and direct others. Amongst the chief men of several friendly local groups it would generally happen that one of them, by reason of his personal qualities, would attain to a position of higher rank than the others. Younger men would be desirous of joining the local group to which he belonged. He would find himself popular and respected at the annual meetings of the different groups, and his influence would thus spread beyond the narrow limits of his own small community.

There was no special word to denote such men and distinguish them from others. In the languages of the North Andaman they were spoken of as *er-kuro* = "big."

Such men might perhaps be spoken of as "chiefs," but the term is somewhat misleading, as it makes us think of the organised chieftainship of other savage races.

The above statement is not quite in agreement with what has been written by Mr Man on the same subject, and what he

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da	father
ab-atr	father
in	mother
ar-bua	child
ar-kodire	child (father speaking)
ab-atet	child (mother speaking)
mama	grandparent
jat	grandchild
en-toaka-ŋa	older brother or sister
ar-dotot	younger brother or sister
otoni	son-in-law
oten	daughter-in-law
ab-i-ŋa	consort (husband or wife)
aka-yat	parent of child's consort
aka-bua	consort's younger brother or sister
ep-taruo-ŋa	step relative
ot-čat-ŋa	relative by adoption
aka-kuam	younger relative
ab-čuga	older relative (male)
ab-čupal	older relative (female).

601 576

Da and *in*. *Da* is the common term of address used when speaking to an older man to whom the speaker wishes to show respect. A man will speak of his own father as *dege da*, *dege* being the personal pronoun "my" as used before a word that has no prefix. The term *In* is the common term of address used in speaking to women. A man or woman will refer to his or her own mother as *deg' in*. The use of these two terms as applied to parents is very similar to the use of *aka-mai* and *aka-mimi* in the North Andaman, with the difference that in *Akar-Bale* the stem *da* or *in* does not take a prefix to modify its meaning. While the use of the terms *Da* and *In* as terms of address does not in the least imply that there is any relationship between the person speaking and the person addressed, yet the phrase *dege da* would in general be understood as referring to the speaker's own father.

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Ab-atr. This is a word descriptive of the relationship of a father to his child. I never heard a man refer to his own father by this term, but it is heard in such phrases as *deg' in l'ab-atr* = my mother's father. It conveys a definite notion of the physiological relation between a father and his children, and might be translated "he who caused me to be conceived." There is

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The first of these is used in addressing males and the second in addressing females, while the third may be used either for males or for females and implies a higher degree of respect than the others.

In all the languages of the Great Andaman a man refers to his own father and mother by adding a personal pronoun to the words meaning "Sir" and "Lady." In *Aka-J̌eru* a man speaks of his father as *t'a-mai*, and of his mother as *t'a-mimi*, the *a-* being a contracted form of the prefix *aka-*. This prefix is always used in this way in the Northern languages. It is not possible to say *tičo maia*, which would be the literal equivalent of *dege da* in *Akar-Bale*. In the *Akar-Bale* language the translation of "my father" and "my mother" is *dege da* and *deg' in*, the *dege* being the personal pronoun "my" as used before a word that has no prefix. The same formation is present also in the *A-Pučikwar* and *Aka-Kǫl* languages. For example in *Aka-Kǫl* "my father" is *tiye tao*, and "my mother" *tiye in*. In the *Aka-Bea* language, according to the information given by Mr Man, the word *maia* (or *maiola*) may be used combined with a prefix, as in *d'ab-maiola* = "my father," or it may be used simply with the personal pronoun as *dia maia* or *dia maiola*. According to Mr Man these last two terms are applied not to a man's own father, but to the other persons whom he addresses as *maia*. This is contradicted by Mr Portman who gives *dia maiola* as the *Aka-Bea* for "my father."

In the *Aka-Bea* and *Akar-Bale* languages (as also in *A-Pučikwar* and *Aka-Kǫl*) a man always addresses his grandparent or his father-in-law or mother-in-law by the term *Mama* or *Mamola*. He is therefore able to refer to these persons by adding the personal pronoun to the term of address, as *dege mama* in *Akar-Bale*. This cannot, however, be regarded as properly a term denoting relationship, for a man may apply the term *Mama* to a man or woman to whom he is not related at all[1].

The next kind of words that we may consider are those that describe the respective social position of two persons. Such are the words *ot-otoatue* and *ot-arai-čulute* in *Aka-J̌eru*, meaning

[1] The natives commonly applied the term to me, in the form *Mam-jula*.

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"he who was born before me" and "he who was born after me" respectively. These terms do not, strictly speaking, convey any idea of consanguinity, although they are commonly used to refer to a brother or a sister. Exactly equivalent terms are found in all the languages, for example the *en-toaka-ya* and *ar-dot-ot* of *Akar-Bale*. I was not able to discover in *Aka-Jeru* nor yet in *Akar-Bale* any term to denote a brother or a sister. In *Aka-Bea*, however, Mr Man records the term *ar-weji-ya* or *ar-wejeri-ya*. The stem *-weji-* or *-wejeri-*, as we shall shortly see, is a verbal stem referring to the act of birth, *-ya* is a verbal suffix, and the prefix *ar-* conveys a reference to position in space or time. The whole word seems to mean "he or she who was born in the same womb as myself," and is therefore strictly a word meaning "brother or sister." It is possible that similar words exist in *Akar-Jeru* and *Akar-Bale*, but I never came across them.

Other terms descriptive of social status are the *Akar-Bale* terms *ab-čuga* and *ab-čupal* which refer to married men and women particularly those older than the speaker. These also are not properly terms of relationship, though a man may refer to some of his relatives as *d'ab-čuga*, adding the personal pronoun to what is properly a word descriptive of the social position of the person in question. In *Aka-Bea* the equivalent terms are *ab-čabil* and *ab-čana*. It would seem that the term *aka-kuam* (*aka-kam* in *Aka-Bea*) is of the same kind, being applicable by an older married man to a younger. At any rate I was unable to discover that it conveyed to the natives any notion of relationship.

There are a certain number of terms that are descriptive of definite relationships. In the North *ot-e-bui*, and in *Akar-Bale ab-i-ya* are both of them derived from verbal stems meaning "to marry" and are used to denote a husband or a wife. In the North I did not discover any term descriptive of a father or a mother save those derived from the terms of address. In *Akar-Bale* and *Aka-Bea* there are such terms; *ab-atr* in *Akar-Bale* means "father" while the word for "mother" was not noted; in *Aka-Bea* a father is *ar-odi-ya*, and a mother is *ab-eti-ya*. These words are descriptive of the physiological relation between a

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uninfluenced by the vices or virtues of alien races[1]." At the present time conjugal infidelity is very common and is lightly regarded. It is almost certain that the establishment of the Penal Settlement amongst them has affected their morals in this particular, but there does not seem to be any very satisfactory evidence that their former morality was quite so strict as Mr Man would have us believe. One piece of evidence in this matter is that the spread of syphilis, when it was first introduced amongst them seems to have been very rapid, and yet this was before many of the tribes had been very seriously affected by the Settlement.

Besides the special sexual relation between a husband and wife there is a special economic relation, if we may speak of it as such. The two share one hut between them, or one portion of a communal hut. It is the duty of the wife to provide the fire-wood and the water for cooking and drinking, and to cook the meals at the family fire. It is the duty of the husband to provide flesh food for himself and for his wife, while it is her duty to provide and prepare vegetable food.

A marriage is not regarded as fully consummated until the birth of a child. Mr Man states that the survivor of a childless couple is not looked upon as the chief mourner. A father who has been away from home greets his wife first on his return and then greets his other relatives; but if no child has been born to him a husband first greets his blood-relatives (father, mother, brothers, etc.) and only after that does he visit his wife.

The only regulation of marriage is on the basis of relationship. Marriage is forbidden between near *consanguinei*. The exact rules, in this matter, if indeed there be any exact rules, are difficult to discover. It is quite clear that a man would not be permitted to marry his sister or half-sister, nor his father's or mother's sister, nor his brother's or sister's daughter. The question is more difficult when it comes to the matter of cousins. In 1908 I only found one pair of first cousins who were married to one another, this being in the *Aka-Bo* tribe. The husband

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 135. He speaks of the wives as "models of constancy."

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262 Thus one man of the North Andaman told me that he would not eat dugong when he was with me in the South Andaman. Another said that though he would eat the fish *komar* when he was at home, he would not eat it when he was in a strange place, as at the Settlement of Port Blair, for fear that it would make him ill.

In the North Andaman I was told that when a dugong is caught and the people feast on it they do not leave the camp till some hours after the meat is all finished, either to go fishing or hunting. The reason they give for this is that the spirits of the jungle and the sea may smell them, attracted by the odour of the food they have eaten and may cause them to be ill. They therefore remain in the camp and eat up all the dugong and do not venture out till they begin to feel hungry and must go in search of food. I believe that the same custom is observed in the South Andaman also.

A few other customs connected with food may be mentioned here. There is only one way in which a turtle may be killed[1]. It must be laid on its back with its head pointing towards the open sea, and a skewer of wood is then thrust through the eye-socket into the brain. The natives say that if a turtle were killed in any other way than this, the meat would be "bad," i.e., uneatable.

252 262 Turtle meat may only be cooked on a fire of the wood of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*.

A pig is killed as it runs, without ceremony, but there is one special way in which it must be cut up. The pig is first disembowelled, and the joints of the legs are severed. The abdominal cavity is then filled with leaves, of which only certain special kinds are used. It is placed on a fire and roasted whole, and is then cut up. Should the carcase be cut up by any other than the traditional method, the natives believe that the meat would be "bad," and they would not eat it.

A number of beliefs relating to vegetable foods will be mentioned in the next chapter.

576 201 In several of the ceremonies described in this chapter it will be noticed that the weeping of relatives and friends occurs

[1] Turtle are captured alive by means of harpoons, and may be kept alive several days before they are killed and eaten.

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as an essential part of the ceremony. The female relatives of a youth or girl who is being initiated come and weep over him or her at the turtle-eating ceremony. Their friends weep over, or with, the mourners at the dance at the end of mourning. The friends of a bride and bridegroom weep over them when they are married. The friends and relatives weep over a corpse before it is buried and over the bones when they are recovered. In all cases it is real weeping. The man or woman sits down and wails or howls, and the tears stream down his or her face. On one occasion I asked the natives to show how it was done and two or three of them sat down and were immediately weeping real tears at my request. The weeping in this way is really a ceremony or rite. When two friends or relatives meet who have been separated from one another for a few weeks or longer, they greet each other by sitting down, one on the lap of the other, with their arms around each other's necks, and weeping and wailing for two or three minutes till they are tired. Two brothers greet each other in this way, and so do father and son, mother and son, mother and daughter, and husband and wife. When husband and wife meet, it is the man who sits on the lap of the woman. When two friends part from one another, one of them lifts up the hand of the other towards his mouth and gently blows on it.

Reference has already been made in this chapter to a number of customs relating to personal names. It will be useful to bring together the scattered references, and give a general account of the whole matter.

Every Andaman Islander has a personal name that is given to him or her before birth, and which we may speak of as the birth-name. As soon as a woman realises that she is pregnant, she and her husband begin to think of a name for the child. The name is selected by the parents, but the suggestions of their friends and relatives are always considered. It is regarded as a compliment to name the child after some man or woman. Sometimes a man may request the parents that the child shall be named after him, and such a request is rarely, if ever, refused. The names given before birth are of course applicable to both sexes, there being no difference between

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PLATE VI.

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GREAT ANDAMAN TYPES AT PORT BLAIR HOME.

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CHANG-TONGA (SECOND-CLASS LEAN-TO) IN SOUTH ANDAMAN: FRIENDS WEEPING TOGETHER AFTER LONG SEPARATION; ATTITUDE IN SLEEP, ETC.

[facing p. 78]

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761 is lying, and shoots several arrows in rapid succession into the
766 surrounding jungle, only taking care to avoid injury to the by-standers, and then, seizing a pig-spear, *ēr-dūtnga-*,[1] if *.ērem-chàugala* be the demon suspected, or a turtle-spear, *kowaia l'ôko dūtnga-*,[2] if it be *.jūru-win-* who is accounted guilty, he pierces the ground all round the corpse, hoping thereby to inflict a mortal injury upon the unseen enemy; while so engaged he vents his grief and indignation in no measured terms of imprecation.

25. When a death which is attributed to *.ērem-chàugala*'s malignity occurs so late in the day that the burial has to be deferred till the following morning, those who are not mourners sing in turns throughout the night, in the belief that this demon will thus be deterred from doing any further harm in the encampment.

26. At death they say that *.ērem-chàugala* and his sons feast upon the blood and soft tissues of all who die on land, and that their leavings, excepting of course the bones, are disposed of by worms, *wēn-*, but *jūru-win-* is supposed to consume every portion of those who fall into his clutches.

576 **Meeting and Parting, &c.**—1. Contrary to the customs of most races, no salutations[3] pass between friends, even after a more or less lengthened separation, such as rubbing noses, kissing[4] shaking hands, &c.; but on meeting they remain silently gazing at each other for, in our eyes, an absurdly long time—unless of course one or both be hurried; the younger then makes some commonplace remark which apparently has the effect of loosening their tongues, for they at once commence hearing and telling the news.[5]

576 2. Relatives, after an absence of a few weeks or months,
152 testify their joy at meeting by sitting with their arms round each other's necks,[6] and weeping and howling[7] in a manner which would lead a stranger to suppose that some great sorrow had befallen them; and, in point of fact, there is no difference observable between their demonstrations of joy on these occasions and those of grief at the death of one of their

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 9.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 10.
[3] *Vide* Colebrooke and Anderson.
[4] Kisses are considered indicative of affection, but are only bestowed on infants.
[5] One might imagine that the writer of the article entitled "Chippers of Flint" which appeared in "Cornhill" (vol. xii, p. 200), had heard of or witnessed a rencontre of this description, but had not watched its progress, or he would not have spoken of this race as "all but speechless."
[6] *Vide* Plate III, fig. 2.
[7] This custom resembles that which exists among New Zealanders under the name of the *Tangi*.

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PLATE VII.

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TO SPEED THE PARTING GUEST.

[facing p. 80]

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576 152 number. The crying chorus is started by women, but the men speedily chime in, and groups of three or four may thus be seen weeping in concert until, from sheer exhaustion, they are compelled to desist; then, if neither of the parties are in mourning, a dance is got up, in which the females not unfrequently take part, but the style of their performance differs from that of the males.[1]

3. A husband who is *childless*, and has been absent from his home for some time, on his return to the encampment visits first a blood relation (if any), and when *they* have wept together he goes to his own hut, not in order to shed more tears, but to see and talk to his spouse. The same remark applies to a wife similarly circumstanced. But in the case of married couples who are *parents*, the meeting takes place first between them; the wife hangs round her husband's neck sobbing as if her heart would break with joy at their re-union; when she is exhausted with weeping, he leaves her, and, going to one of his relations, gives vent to his pent-up feelings of happiness by bursting into tears.

576 4. It is usual for friends at meeting to give each other something which may happen to be in their hands at the time, and these gifts are regarded as tokens of affection.

[574] 5. Strangers introduced by mutual friends are always warmly welcomed by the whole community: they, in common with all guests, are the first attended on, the best food in the encampment is set before them, and in every way they are well treated; presents also are often given them, especially when about to take their leave.

6. "Speed the parting guest" is an axiom upon which these people invariably act: the departing visitor is accompanied by his host to the landing-place, or, at all events, some distance on his way; when bidding each other farewell the guest takes the hand of his host and blows upon it; when the compliment has been returned, the following dialogue ensues:—

Departing visitor: *kam wai dōl.* I am off (*lit.*, Here indeed I).

Host: *ô, ū·chik wai ồn; tain tâ·lik kach ồn yâ·te?* Very well, go; when will you come again?

Departing visitor: *ñgâ·tek dō·ngat mīn ī·kke.* I will bring away something for you one of these days.

Host: *jō·bo la ngōng châ·pikok!* May no snake bite you!

Departing visitor: *wai dō ēr-gē·lepke.* I will take good care of that (*lit.*, I will be watchful).

Afterwards they again blow upon each other's hands, and part,

[1] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraphs 27 and 30.

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576 shouting invitations and promises for a future date until beyond earshot.

7. When nearing home, after an unusually successful hunting or fishing expedition, the men raise a shout[1] of triumph in order to apprise their friends of their good fortune, and the women take up the cry and express their delight by yelling[2] and slapping their thighs; but when the encampment is entered, these sounds of rejoicing almost invariably cease for a while, and, after depositing their spoils, the hunters remain speechless for some time ere recounting their adventures and exploits: for this strange practice they appear unable to account.

8. No matutinal greetings pass between friends or between husband and wife, and inquiries relating to health are unusual unless addressed to an invalid.

515 9. When a man is thirsty and wishes also to wash his hands, he first, if alone, stoops down and drinks from the stream, or raises the water to his lips in a leaf or vessel; then, filling his mouth with water, he squirts it over his hands, using his unkempt locks as a towel. Should any one else be present, he would pour the water over his friend's hands as well, not from his mouth, but from a leaf.

10. They do not bathe daily, but at irregular intervals, when oppressed with the heat, or when, from some cause, as, for instance, in gathering honey,[3] their persons become sticky and unpleasant, and ablutions, consistently with comfort at least, cannot be dispensed with. It will be understood that these remarks apply to the *ēremtâga-*, rather than the *àryô·to-*, who, from the nature of their pursuits, are on the whole fairly clean.[4]

[302] 11. During the hot weather they smear their bodies with common white clay, called *ōg-*,[5] dissolved in water, and avoid, as far as they are able, any lengthened exposure to the direct rays of the sun. If compelled to leave the shelter of the jungle, they are in the habit of holding a large leaf screen, *kâ·pa-jâ·tnga-*,[6] over their heads as a protection (this is also done during a shower); should they be travelling by boat they lessen the discomfort caused by excessive heat by pouring water over themselves, or by plunging overboard and swimming alongside the canoe for some part of the way.

[1] There is a specific term for this description of shouting, viz.: *tēreblake*, while that of the women in answer thereto is called —

[2] *rō·moke*.

[3] *Vide* Appendix H (*lad·a chàu-*, lit., dirty body).

[4] They never allow vermin to breed on their persons — in fact, such a thing could not possibly occur, owing to the constant shaving of the head, painting of the person, and, in the case of the *àryô·to-*, immersion in the sea while fishing and turtling.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 59.

[6] *Vide* Appendix B, item 74.

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PLATE VIII.

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ANDAMANESE EQUIPPED FOR JOURNEY.

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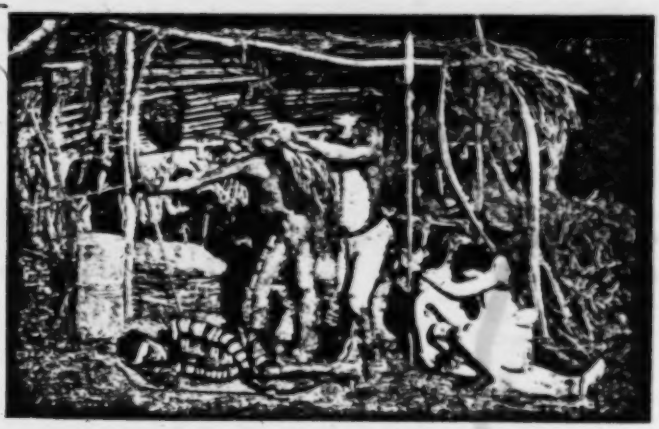


ANDAMANESE SHOOTING, DANCING, SLEEPING, AND GREETING.

[facing p. 110]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

5. When a man wishes to address a married woman who is younger than himself he may not venture to do so directly, but must find some third person to be the medium of his communication; it is also not *selon les règles* for a man to *touch* his younger brother's (or cousin's) wife, or his wife's sister; and women are restricted in the same way as regards their husband's elder brother (or male cousin) or his brother-in-law. 576

6. All titles such as *mai·a*, *mai·ola*, and *chān·a* cease to be applied after death; and inquiries ignorantly made after one who has recently died are replied to in a subdued tone, thus: *wai ədā·re* (he or she "was") or *wai ōkolī·re* (he or she "is dead"). As little allusion as possible is ever made to deceased persons, especially for the first year or so after their death, during which period they are indicated only by reference to the tree or place where their remains are, or were, deposited; after a while the word *lach·i*, answering to "the late," is prefixed to their defunct countrymen's (and women's) names.[1]

Warfare.—1. Reference has already been made to their want of true courage or daring, and it has been stated that the Andamanese seldom, if ever, venture to make an attack unless satisfied of their superiority over their foes;[2] it will, therefore, be hardly necessary to enlarge upon their mode of carrying on hostilities, or to say that they are ignorant of the most elementary rules of warfare. 726

2. Should a dispute arise between members of different communities in the course of a visit or *jeg-*[3] the affair often grows in importance and becomes a tribal question, which may not be settled without more or less serious consequences; those wounded on such occasions generally fare badly unless speedily removed, as they stand great risk of being shot dead or receiving the *coup de grâce* in some other form; they are not, however, in the habit of mutilating the bodies of their victims, save in exceptional cases, where there has been very grave aggravation.

3. The assailants generally approach stealthily upon their enemies, and, though availing themselves of every advantage afforded by the density of the jungle, do not take further precautions or devise stratagems whereby to conceal their trail as they proceed on their way. They wear no breastplate,[4] nor do

[1] Ex.: "múnshí" *·bi·ela* (*vide* Plate II, fig. 2), whose corpse was *placed* on a machán beside a tree called *yel-*, was spoken of as *yel lā·kà-tùng len tog·i yə·te-* (he who is by the *yel-* tree); had he been *buried* he would have been referred to as *yel lā·kà-tùng len bə̀ guk yə·te-*.

[2] *Vide ante* "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 2.

[3] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraphs 22–37.

[4] The *jar·awa-* have been found to wear a wide belt of bark as a protection in hostile encounters.

181 weakly or the helpless and to captives, kind to their wives and proud of their children, whom they often over-pet; but when angered cruel, jealous, treacherous and vindictive, and always unstable. They are bright and merry companions, talkative, inquisitive and restless, busy in their own pursuits, keen sportsmen and naturally independent, absorbed in the chase from sheer love of it and other physical occupations and not lustful, indecent or indecently abusive.

As the years advance they are apt to become intractable, masterful and quarrelsome. A people to like but not to trust. Exceedingly conservative and bound up in ancestral custom, not amenable to civilization, all the teaching of years bestowed on some of them having introduced no abstract ideas among the tribesmen, and changed no habit in practical matters affecting comfort, health, and mode of life. Irresponsibility is a characteristic, though instances of a keen sense of responsibility are not wanting. Several Andamanese can take charge of the steering of a large steam launch through dangerous channels, exercising then caution, daring and skill though not to an European extent, and the present dynamo-man of the electric lighting on Ross Island is an Andamaneso, while the wire-man is a Nicobarese, both of whom exhibit the liveliest sense of their responsibilities, though a deep-rooted unconquerable fear of the dynamo and wires when at work. The Nicobarese shows, as is to be expected, the higher order of intellect. Another Andamanese was used by Portman for years as an accountant and kept his accounts in English accurately and well.

The intelligence of the women is good, though not as a rule equal to that of the men. In old age, however, they frequently exhibit a considerable mental capacity which is respected. Several women trained in a former local Mission Orphanage from early childhood have shown much mental aptitude and capacity, the "savagery" in them however only dying down as they grew older. They can read and write well, understand and speak English correctly, have acquired European habits completely, and possess much shrewdness and common sense: one has herself taught her Andamanese husband, the dynamo-man above mentioned, to read and write English and induced him to join the Government House Press as a compositor. She writes a well expressed and correctly spelt letter in English, and has a shrewd notion of the value of money. Such women, when the instability of youth is past, make good "ayas," as their men-kind make good waiters at table.

The highest general type of intelligence yet noticed is in the Jarawa tribe.

805 **Mental Capacities.**—The Andamanese divide the day by the position of
823 the sun and can roughly divide the night, though they have no idea of steering
821 by the sun or stars. The year is known by the three main seasons of the climate and the months rudely by the flowering and fruiting of trees of economic value to them. Tides are understood and carefully noted, a necessary accomplishment to a people largely living on shell-fish and navigating shallow tidal creeks and shores. They are aware of the connection of the phases of the moon with the tides and have names for the four phases of each lunation. They know the four quarters of the compass in reference to the daily position of the sun and have names for the four chief winds that blow (N. W., N. E., S. E., S. W.). They differentiate three kinds of clouds:—Cumulus, stratus, nimbus. The only constellation they have distinguished is Orion and they have discovered the Milky Way for which they have a name, and also call it "the way of the angels" (*morowin*, the daughter-messengers of Puluga).

576 **Social Emotions.**—The social emotions are not generally expressed. The Andamanese have no words for ordinary salutations, greeting or for expressing thanks. On meeting they stare at each other for a lengthened period in silence, which the younger breaks with a commonplace remark and then follows an eager telling of news, which an Andamanese always delights in hearing. Relatives however sit in each other's laps, huddled closely together at *meeting*, weeping loudly and demonstratively, and after a long separation this may last for hours. The Onges are less demonstrative and on such occasions shed a few silent tears only and caress each other with their hands. At *parting* they take each other by the hand and blow on it, exchanging sentences of conventional farewell.

Undemonstrative though they are, the Andamanese are readily roused to emotion, finding that difficulty in separating the real from the assumed observed

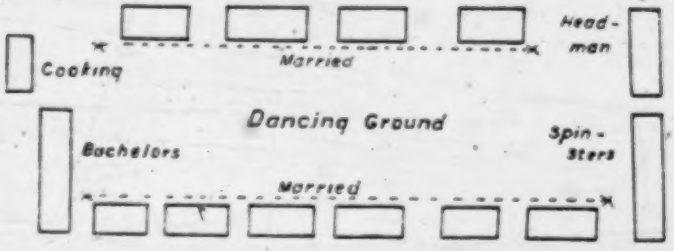
in other savages. At Government House, Calcutta, in 1895, when a party was told to sit down and weep to show the custom at meetings, in a few moments the weeping became genuine, and when after a short time they were told to stop and get up, tears were streaming down their faces. 576

General Capacities.—The Andamanese are good climbers, and rapid walkers and runners, moving with a free and independent gait, and can travel considerable distances at a time. The Jarawas turn their toes in, due to the necessity of stooping to pass along their paths through the tangled jungle. The Eremtaga are good but not remarkable trackers. The Aryoto are good swimmers and are much at home in the water. The Andamanese generally show a dexterity in getting about their thick and tangled jungles which baffles all immigrants, though in this respect the Eremtaga quite out-distance the Aryoto, and the Jarawas apparently all the others. In the jungles all shooting with arrows is necessarily at very short distance, and generally the Andamanese are good shots at short distances only, judging direction very well but distance hardly at all. They can however at the very short distance required for shooting fish allow accurately for refraction in moving water and will shoot their fish successfully even in the surf in a manner that is inimitable: this is really due to accurate judgment of direction. 481

The Andamanese are unadventurous seamen, poling and paddling their canoes with small spade paddles at considerable speed, faster than that of an ordinary ship's boat for a little distance though they could not paddle away from one in even a short chase, but they never go out of sight of land, have never been even to the Cocos (30 miles), nor to Narcondam and Barren Island, nor had they ever any knowledge of the existence of the Nicobars till our arrival. Man has a legend from Car Nicobar doubtfully going to show that the Onges from the Little Andaman once made raids on that island: but if this were true they would do so still. 502

IV. Habits and Customs.

Dwellings.—Except in the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas there are no fixed habitations, the search for easily obtained food and insanitary habits obliging the people to be nomads, for they have no practice of cultivation and domesticate no animal whatever except dogs obtained from the English. They thus dwell in various customary encampments, situate within their respective territories. At these encampments, usually fixed in sheltered spots, they erect about 14 temporary huts capable of holding up to 50 to 60 persons, arranged facing inwards on an oval plan always more or less irregular, thus— 621 [242] [231]



The central space is the dancing ground. A hut is merely a thatch about 4 feet long by 3 feet wide, sloping from 8 inches behind to 4½ feet in front, placed on four uprights and some cross-pieces without walls. In unsheltered spots and at the Head-Quarters of Septs large circular huts are built with a good deal of ingenuity, having eaves nearly touching the ground. These will be as much as 15 feet high and 30 feet in diameter. For hunting purposes mere thatched shelters are erected for protection from the wind. Close to every hut is a very small platform for surplus food about 18 inches from the ground, and in it at least one fire is carefully preserved. This is the one thing that the Andamanese are really careful about for they do not know how to make fire, though 342 [151] 372

881 and pointing to a limited tabu. On reaching puberty or thereabouts, between 12 and 16 years of age, abstention from about 6 kinds of food, each in turn, is voluntarily commenced and continued for some years. At the end of each abstention there are a few ceremonies and some dancing and the youth of both sexes become "grown up." There is nothing else to mark this period beyond the application of an honorific name while it lasts, no secret to be communicated, no religious ceremony. In after-life, however, men who have gone through the initiatory period together will not fight, quarrel, nor call each other by name. They will assume great friendship, while avoiding each other with a mutual shyness. The women also practise a limited tabu as to food during menstruation and pregnancy. The idea of tabu does undoubtedly exist as to food and every man has his own tabued articles through life, which is, however, usually something observed to disagree with him in childhood or to be unpalatable.

264 There are also limitations as to sexual family relations. Only husband and
576 wife can eat together. Widows and widowers, bachelors and maidens eat with their own sex only. A man may not address directly a married woman younger than himself or touch his wife's sister or the wife of a younger relative, and *vice versâ*.

302 The tattooing is partly ceremonial, as a test of courage and endurance of
304 pain, and so is painting the body with clays, oils, etc. By the material and design is shown sickness, sorrow or festivity and the unmarried condition.

535 **Amusements.**—The great amusement of the Andamanese, indeed their chief object in life after the chase, is the formal evening or night dance, a curious monotonous performance accompanied by drumming the feet rythmically on a special sounding board, like a Crusader's shield and mistaken for a shield by several observers, singing a song more or less impromptu and of a compass limited to four semitones and the intermediate quarter tones, and clapping the hands on the thighs in unison. The dance takes place every evening whenever there are enough for it, and lasts for hours and all night at meetings of the tribes or septs for the purpose. It then becomes ceremonial and is continued for several nights in succession. Both sexes take allotted parts in it. This and turtle hunting are the only things which will keep the Andamanese awake all night long. There are five varieties of the dance among the tribes: that of the Onge-Jarawas being an entirely separate performance.

533 **Music.**—The Andamanese appreciate rhythm and time, but not pitch or tune. They sing in unison, but not in parts, and can neither sing in chorus nor repeat or even catch an air. The key in which a solo or chorus is started is quite accidental. They can be readily taught any dance step and can teach it themselves from observation.

Song.—Every man who respects himself is a composer of songs, always consisting of a solo and refrain, and sings without action or gesticulation and always to the same rhythm. The songs relate only to travel, sport and personal adventures, never to love, children and the usual objects of poetry, and very rarely to beliefs and superstition. The wording is enigmatic and excessively elliptic, the words themselves being in grammatical order, but shorn of all affixes as a rule. As in all poetry unusual words are employed. But clipped as the wording is and prosaic as the subjects are, the Andamanese are far from being unable to give a poetic turn to their phraseology and ideas. The women have lullabies for their babies.

524 **Games.**—The Andamanese are childishly fond of games and have an indigenous blind-man's-buff, leap-frog and hide-and-seek. Mock pig and turtle hunts, mock burials, and "ghost" hunts are favourite sports. Matches in swinging, swimming, throwing, skimming (ducks and drakes), shooting (archery), and wrestling are practised.

551 **Naming of Children and Adults.**—Every child is named for life after one of about twenty conventional names by the mother, of course without reference to sex, immediately upon pregnancy becoming evident, to which afterwards a nickname, varying occasionally as life proceeds, is added from personal peculiarities, deformities, disfigurements, or eccentricities and sometimes from flattery or reverence. Girls are also given "flower names" after one of sixteen selected trees which happen to be in flower at the time they reach puberty.